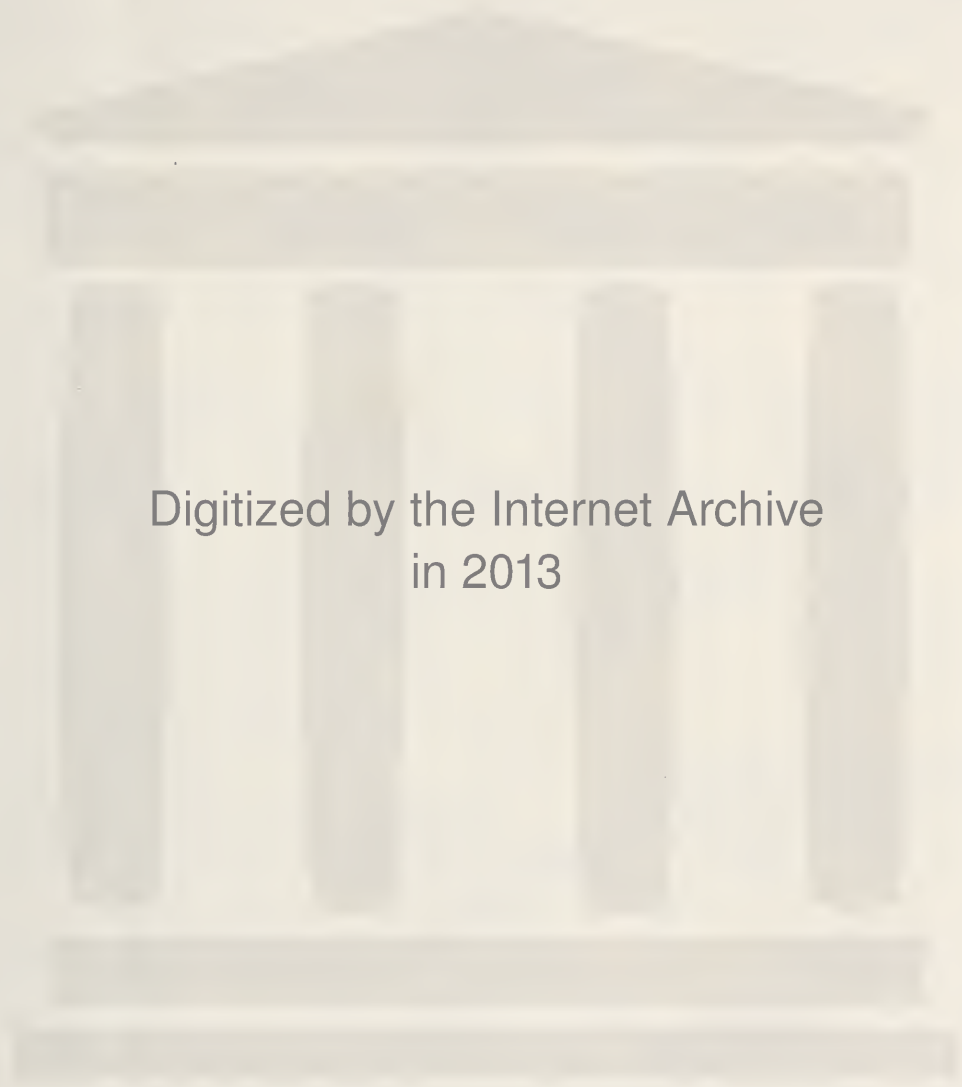
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STUDIES

IN
THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

Music and the Jesuit Mission in the New World

T. FRANK KENNEDY, S.J.

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The Seminar is composed of a number of Jesuits appointed from their provinces in the United States.

It concerns itself with topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially United States Jesuits, and communicates the results to the members of the provinces through its publication, STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS. This is done in the spirit of Vatican II's recommendation that religious institutes recapture the original inspiration of their founders and adapt it to the circumstances of modern times. The Seminar welcomes reactions or comments in regard to the material that it publishes.

The Seminar focuses its direct attention on the life and work of the Jesuits of the United States. The issues treated may be common also to Jesuits of other regions, to other priests, religious, and laity, to both men and women. Hence, the journal, while meant especially for American Jesuits, is not exclusively for them. Others who may find it helpful are cordially welcome to make use of it.

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STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS
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the first word . . .

A very long time ago, as a lowly T.A., I spent a summer helping my dissertation advisor at Northwestern with his "Introduction to Film Class." We met at eight in the morning to avoid the worst of the unbearable heat in the converted attic store room that served as our classroom. That particular summer, perhaps 1969 or 1970, the golden age of summer schools, the class of fifty must have included at least ten identifiable Church people in various forms of religious garb. A stranger, walking into class before the morning caffeine kicked in, might suspect he had taken a wrong turn at the Loop in Chicago and wound up at Notre Dame.

The professor, a courteous, sensitive man of no particular religious commitment that I could ever detect, finally let his curiosity overcome his reserve and asked me to explain why the Catholics had taken over his class. He knew that I was a priest, and perhaps he thought I could open a window into a world that remained quite mysterious and foreign to him. His question caught me with my lens cap on. Wasn't it obvious? I told him that many progressive Catholic schools had begun to use films as teaching aids for religion classes, and some colleges had even formed cinema clubs to raise religious issues with students. Not content to let it go while still ahead, I added, "and of course Catholics have had a long history with the Legion of Decency." "I see," he replied through his pipe smoke, like a good Rogerian analyst waiting to see if I would say something that made sense. As I look back on it, my reply was not only silly; it was dishonest, since I wasn't interested in pursuing either of those objectives myself. It remains a good question: What were we doing there?

In some form, questions like my mentor's continue to hover in the background for many of us as we pursue our own professional work. Does what I'm doing really have any connection to the work of the Church and the Society? Jesuits involved in directly pastoral work probably have an easier time of it, even though even for them there may be days when frustration and administrative duties lead them to ask if this work has any bearing on the Kingdom.

Education, however, without a doubt raises the most challenging questions. Why go into advanced studies anyway? For a while, the phrase "hyphenated priest" had some currency, but it seems to have dropped out of the discourse of the day. It always suggested to me a kind of clerical schizophrenia, as though one is a priest at the

altar or in a counseling room, but something else during the rest of the work day. Occasionally one heard the "union card" apologia. This justifies the Ph. D. as a path to a faculty appointment, which in turn brings greater access to students during their college years. This line of reasoning always seemed to reduce intellectual work to another facet of campus ministry. Living in the residence halls and fraternizing with students was the ultimate goal. Writing articles, attending seminars, and teaching classes were the secular means needed to achieve priestly goals. And are those men whose professional duties limit their pastoral ministries somehow less priests and less involved with the work of the Church and Society?

We are not alone in our dilemma. Here's an interesting set of parallels to chew over. After a good number of years behind a desk or lectern, it is possible that a priest facing a complicated marriage case might simply refer the matter to a canon lawyer, who knows what he's doing. That seems only reasonable, even though it may be surprising to someone told to "see a priest" and believes all priests come in the same size, shape, and flavor. To go one step further, can one legitimately (or prudently) take a pass when contacted about counseling, spiritual direction, retreats, or preparing an adult for baptism? Or more concretely still, how can one judge the appropriate amount of time to be devoted to "pastoral" work that is not part of one's primary assignment? In many instances academics have become specialists. Now here's the parallel. Think of an ophthalmologist or psychiatrist suddenly faced with someone stricken with a heart attack or a woman going into labor. His best medical judgment might be to get a doctor who knows how to treat the patient, since his own practice has made him lose touch with cardiology and obstetrics. Similarly, a top Wall Street lawyer might take a bit of heat from her family for refusing to represent her brother-in-law in traffic court. No truly professional, doctor, lawyer, or priest, can be expected to meet everyone's expectations of them. Some expectations people lay on them are simply unrealistic, as are the expectations we place on one another and ourselves.

Some fields of study more readily provide a resolution to the dilemma than others. Theologians would probably be called upon to justify their work in terms of ministry only on rare occasions. Theology fits the sacerdotal image. Who would question the fact that the Church needs theologians to train future priests, to educate lay people in Church teaching, and to articulate those beliefs to a secular world? The work itself seems "priestly" enough, and few Catholics, I would imagine, would need a tally sheet of Sunday parish calls, confessions, or parlor duty before accepting the man as a real priest. When we think about it, even with theology the fit is not quite perfect.

Some factions in the Church see the work of theology as solely catechetical, others as a field of pure research, and most as something in between. We've been debating the notion of Catholic theology and Catholic identity for years, and probably will continue to do so. Theological gray areas are there, but navigable.

A few areas of study, though not directly theological, piggyback on the same rationale, like counseling, social work, and psychology in its many forms. Philosophy is still perceived by many as an appropriate seminary subject, much to the outrage of philosophy professors, who have been rebelling against referring to their field as "the handmaid of theology" since Descartes cogitated himself into being. With the emphasis on faith-and-justice issues in the past few decades, Jesuits in the social sciences tend to get a pass fairly easily, too. Sociology and economics fit snugly into the Society's contemporary mission, and maybe even anthropology and political science, too. Communication might be acceptable, as long as its objective is seen as homiletic or ethical. Even lawyers, the targets of endless character assassinations, can be accepted as furthering the Church's mission, but only if pro bono work and social-justice issues form the core of their work.

But some of us academics still have a pretty hard time explaining what we do as a priestly ministry in the Society. Not everyone in the hard sciences works in areas that address world-health, hunger, or life issues. For the majority of historians and literature and art professors may treat Church-related topics on occasion, but for most of them religion remains a peripheral issue and only pops up on occasion in their classes. And not everyone plans to take their skills overseas to ease the burdens of poverty for those who might otherwise lack the opportunities of education. From the outside, our work in labs and libraries really looks very much like the work of our secular or atheist colleagues.

It's really hard to explain to the skeptical that some of us believe that learning for its own sake is a divine mission, very much at the heart of the human enterprise. We've dedicated our professional and Jesuit lives to the task of perceiving, and understanding and appreciating the wonders of Creation. And we remain convinced that this is quite congruent with the mission of the Church and the Society, even if the work immediately brings no converts into the Church and rights no injustice. Over the long term, the Church needs a vigorous intellectual life thriving within its ranks, both lay and clerical, if it is to continue to relate to the secular world. Think of the dire consequences in the past, and imagine those in the future, when the Church failed to

speak its message to the ambient world, simply because it lost interest in listening to contemporary languages and examining the ideas it finds increasingly uncongenial.

These kinds of questions form a kind of unspoken subtext for the essay in this issue of STUDIES. The Jesuit musicians T. Frank Kennedy describes no doubt loved their work, but at the same time they seem to have had clear ecclesial goals in mind. For them music formed a bond with the indigenous peoples they were introducing to Christianity. Yes, they found wonder in the music, but they would have no trouble explaining to outsiders, both within and outside the Church, why they dedicated themselves to their art, why they taught it to others, and how it related to their role in the Church. In a word, they were willing to use their art to achieve pastoral objectives.

In the twenty-first century the linkage might not be as clear. T. Frank has dedicated his considerable skills as a research scholar to reconstructing the music from this period so that we, his contemporaries, can understand what our predecessors were able to accomplish both as musicians and as churchmen. The task demanded long, silent hours in dusty libraries and suffocating cathedral archives. The apostolic dimensions of his work are not quite as self-evident as those of the Jesuits of an earlier generation whose contributions he describes in this essay. With a bit of reflection, however, what he has done is provide an illuminating insight into the relationship between art and faith, between human achievement and God's involvement in our endeavors. It might prompt us more literary types to read "God's Grandeur" once again.

A few second words . . .

The fall issue traditionally marks the transitions in the Seminar for Jesuit Spirituality. Even though it may be more than a trifle presumptuous on my part, I'd like to thank our graduating class on behalf of the entire Assistancy. Their generosity, critical skills, and wisdom made the Seminar work. A collective tip of the biretta, then, to Jim Bernauer, who continues teaching philosophy at Boston College, to T. Frank Kennedy, author of this monograph, to Bill Reiser, and Tom Schubeck, who remain at their teaching posts in the Theology Departments of Holy Cross and John Carroll University respectively. Thanks for your collaboration and friendship over the last three years.

Last spring we nominated a strong roster of candidates, and after a round of consultations with the Jesuit provincials at the end came up with four new members. Let me introduce them:

Gerry Cobb, Oregon Province, teaches English and serves as associate dean in the College of Arts and Sciences at Seattle University. He also chaired the committee that oversaw planning for the stunning new chapel of St. Ignatius on the campus.

Tom Scirghi, New York Province, is associate professor of liturgical theology at the Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley. He is co-author with (Alejandro Garcia-Rivera, also of JSTB) of the forthcoming book *Living Beauty: The Art of Liturgy.*

Tom Worcester, New England Province, is associate professor of history at the College of the Holy Cross, where he specializes in the cultural and religious history of early-modern France and Italy. He is editor of the forthcoming *Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits.*

Mike Zampelli, Maryland Province, is associate professor of theater and dance at Santa Clara University. As a historian of theater and director, he has retrieved and staged several early Jesuit operas, some in collaboration with T. Frank Kennedy, including Zipoli's *San Ignacio de Loyola,* which will be performed during the fall season this year.

One has to be struck by the breadth and diversity of the interests the new members will bring to the Seminar. We can look forward to their contributions to our work over the next three years. And again on behalf of all the Jesuits of the Assistancy, many thanks for adding this project to your already crowded schedule.

Richard A. Blake, S.J.
Editor

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T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., is the Peter Canisius Professor of Humanities and Music at Boston College, where he also chairs the Department of Music and serves as director of the Jesuit Institute. His special interest in Latin American music of the colonial period and early Jesuit operas as a function of the tradition of theater in Jesuit schools has led not only to archival research throughout Latin America and Europe but to the staging and performance of many little-known early compositions. Among his many publications are his two-volume editorial collaborations with John O'Malley, S.J. and Gauvin Bailey, The Jesuits and The Arts, 1540-1773 *(Saint Joseph University Press, 2003) and* The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773 *(University of Toronto Press, 2006).*

Music and the Jesuit Mission in the New World

Recent research has revealed an astonishing variety of musical settings employed by Jesuits of the Old Society, particularly in their ministries in the New World. In melding the finest traditions of Europe and the indigenous forms, they created a body of music that included both liturgical celebrations in the cathedrals of capital cities and catechism lessons in the smaller towns and villages.

Introduction

In the 1970s STUDIES published *The Place of Art in Jesuit Life* by Pedro Arrupe and Clement J. McNaspy (5/3 April 1973), and Thomas D. Culley's pioneering essay, *A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome and St. Louis, 1970). Since then there has been a virtual avalanche of research concerning the Society's pre-suppression history, a great deal of which has covered areas within the fine arts where Jesuits and their collaborators have made their mark. The work of these two particular Jesuit scholars in the 1960s and '70s prepared the ground for later musicological and historical research now blossoming throughout the scholarly world. The great contributions of these men were to make both lay scholars and Jesuits aware of the great tradition in the fine arts that was cultivated by the Jesuits of the Old Society. Since that time not only has archival work yielded more information about Jesuits and music, but diligent and careful scholars have begun to find the musical scores that belong to this great tradition and make this music available through transcriptions and recordings. All of this scholarship clearly points in the direction of mission. There was always a reason for musical elaboration in Jesuit works, and it is now obvious that it is either more or less explicitly at the service of mission.

What is truly astonishing are the myriad ways that the early Jesuits used music in their apostolates. Most Jesuits today are aware of St. Ignatius's prohibition against singing the Divine Office in common, as well as the curious ban of musical instruments in Jesuit houses. As we now know, the ban on chanting reflected Ignatius's desire for his men to be more available for ministry than chanting the office would allow. The more curious ban on musical instruments never seems to have been enforced with any rigor at all, even in Ignatius's time. We know how he used to invite Father André des Freux to play the harpsichord for him when he felt ill. However, at the very same time Jesuits used vocal music in the liturgy and other services requiring sacred music: the theater, the academic defenses of theology and philosophy, and to a vast extent the catechism. Neither was purely instrumental music banned, least of all in the missions of Paraguay, where it was used to build community, to weave together the social fabric of the Indian townships that in effect created the local culture of these famous *reducciones*. In this study many, but not all, of the musical examples and references will come from the music of these townships, as in this collection we find many of the examples of how Jesuits used the various musical genres in their works.

I would like to propose and develop a broad hypothesis that in their incredibly varied attempts to work for the care of souls, the Jesuits, in their use of music, were captivated by the principal insight gleaned from the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius, that the love of God is present and manifested in all things. In a sense I am reducing a very complex unfolding of the history of the Jesuit Order to a single perspective, but nevertheless a perspective that sheds light on a search, a journey, a way of being, perhaps, that for Jesuits implied a continual discernment and testing of their decisions, often referred to as "our way of proceeding." There seems to be an end product in this constant effort at discernment that resulted rather consistently in what we might now call the creation of culture. Whether or not the Jesuits were aware of it, they became co-creators of local culture along with the local population. This work revealed an understanding of the human person that was as true in the Jesuit enterprise in Rome, Spain, Germany, and the rest of Europe, as it was in Brazil, Paraguay, Manila, or China, or anywhere else the Je-

Note well the opening phrase of the Jesuit* Constitutions, *which notes, "Our vocation is to travel. . . . Jesuits were at home when they were on mission. The journey* was *home.

suits went. Music was part of this enterprise in an ever-increasing manner, and it came to represent an icon of Jesuit activity in the early-modern period.

What then is music? It is not only a score or a complex combination of meaningful sounds, but a place where we find ourselves attempting to know who we are and what we do. Some say that as we listen to music we are hearing our lives passing before us. There are then commonalities that link us not only to the past, but to all people of all time. Music can bridge gaps of mistranslation between cultures precisely because it disallows literal interpretations. Performance allows individuals as well as communities to name and rename themselves.[1] Because of the commonalities that link humans through time via the musical experience, Jesuits seemed to find music so effective in their works.

I want to suggest that this musical tradition not only amply characterized Jesuit chapels and colleges in Europe but also throughout the far-flung mission lands of the Old Society. What one discovers in the extant repertory is a continuous process of reconciliation, that is, a continuous representation through the music of the eternal questions of human identity. Once again, this process of reconciliation is similar to the postmodern insight that there is no particular person or time or place, but that all humans share the same nature in whatever place and time. This reconciliation, as I call it, depends upon the famous "our way of proceeding," but in its basic modus also teaches the way of discernment as a method to find one's way in life, to all those who experience this process and not only to Jesuits themselves. While the Jesuits may have referred to this discernment in terms of finding the will of God, the others to whom the Jesuit was missioned might have been satisfied, at least initially, to experience a process that offered a method of finding how one should live one's life. Thus, the fine arts in Jesuit corporate culture became a way to convey meanings that bind and reconcile.

I. Jesuit Music

The representative musical examples I use belong to a vast repertory of music mostly found and used in Jesuit missions, but increasingly from European sources as well. I distinguish between what appear to be two separate repertories: the cathedral repertory and the mission repertory. It is

[1] See Carol E. Robertson, *Musical Repercussions of 1492: Encounters in Text and Performance* (Washington: Smithsonian, 1992), 24 f.

important to begin by revisiting the meaning of the word *mission* to Jesuits of the Old Society. As Jesuit historian John O'Malley has shown us, today everyone has a *mission* statement, but the term *mission* was not generally used in the contemporary sense until the sixteenth century. The word *mission* in the early-modern period recovers its more ancient apostolic meaning. Before the sixteenth century the contemporary meaning of "mission" was conveyed by other terms and phrases like "propagation of the Faith" or "journeying to the Infidel." The Latin Vulgate Bible uses the Latin word *missio* in connection with the apostles and disciples of Jesus, but by the Middle Ages "missions" referred almost exclusively to relations that were internal to the Holy Trinity. Missions, then, were part of a technical theological vocabulary. The Jesuits were among the first to inaugurate the new, or maybe it is better to say revived, apostolic usage, and were responsible for its widespread propagation.

In the subsequent years after the order's approval in 1540, in their correspondence among themselves, the Jesuits employed "mission journey" and "pilgrimage" almost as synonyms to designate travel for the sake of ministry. Ten years after the first approbation of Paul III, Ignatius had substantially completed the *Constitutions*, in which he wrote about "the distribution of the members in the vineyard of the Lord," where the word "missioned" (being sent) emerged with prominence. Mission was now well on its way within the Society of Jesus to acquiring its contemporary meaning. Note well the opening phrase of the Jesuit *Constitutions*, which notes, "Our vocation is to travel. . . .[2] Jesuits were at home when they were on mission. The journey *was* home.

A Unity of Vision

Embedded within the music, art, and literary references that have come down to us are evidences of this vision. Overarching macrocosmic themes in the construction of the ecclesial community are evident in the microcosm of the everyday culture of the indigenous townships of Latin American, as well as in court culture of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China and even in the outreach to the Abenaki Indians in New France (Canada). Before considering some specific examples, though, it is necessary to note once again that sense of the reconciliation of time and place that characterized the Jesuit idea of mission: that there are only God's place and God's time. One needs to admit that there is not essentially a differ-

[2]*The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), Part IV, Preamble, 130, #308.

ence between a Jesuit mission in Europe, in New France, in China, in Florida, or in Paraguay. There cannot really be mission art, mission music, mission culture. There are only art for mission, music for mission, poetry for mission. Wherever you slice into the Jesuit enterprise, the essential is present, but the degree of adoption and accommodation is what one discovers to be slightly different.

Musicological research within the burgeoning field of colonial Latin American musical studies in the last decade or so has led to the discovery and classification of a new musical genre that may now be referred to as Mission Music.[3] For a long time now, musicologists have been exploring the great cathedral archives that exist in Latin America: in Mexico City, Guatemala City, Santa Fé de Bogotá, and Sucre in Bolivia. In the last fifteen years or so, corollary research focusing on the local traditions of the various missionary townships throughout Colonial Latin America has begun to parallel the work in the great cathedral archives. When in 1980 the patriarch of Latin American musicological research in the Colonial Period, Robert Stevenson, published "The Last Musicological Frontier: Cathedral Music in the Colonial Americas," certainly less than half of the cathedral archives had been examined very closely, but the course of research and publication had been set.[4] From that year onward, research and publication concerning the cathedral traditions have steadily increased.[5] In addition to this research focusing on the music of the cathedral traditions in Latin America, however, a corollary research focusing on the local traditions of the various missionary townships throughout Colonial Latin America has established this new musical genre, quite separate from the cathedral tradition. Another frontier perhaps? The Jesuit corporate enterprise in

In general it was the mission procurator who received the requests for more European music manuscripts from the Jesuits in the field, although sometimes Jesuits wrote directly to friends appealing for help.

[3] T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., "Latin American Colonial Music: The Case for Mission Music as a New Genre," in *Sonus: A Journal of Investigation into Global Musical Possibilities* 21 no. 2 (2001): 27–38

[4] Robert Stevenson, "The Last Musicological Frontier: Cathedral Music in the Colonial Americas," in Inter-American Music Review 3 (1980): 49-54.

[5] Alfred E. Lemmon, "Cathedral Music in Spanish America," in *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras (Cambridge, 1998), 243–51.

Latin America has provided fertile ground for the study of this genre, especially in the music manuscripts from the Chiquitos archive in Bolivia. In addition, research on Jesuit music in China, in New France, and in the Philippines has been leading musicologists to a much broader understanding of non-cathedral sacred music, a much wider category than the sacred music strictly associated with the European and transplanted European cathedral tradition.

Recovery of a Tradition

A faint adumbration pointing towards a study of mission music can perhaps be traced from Charles Burney's *A General History of Music* of 1789, where he mentions the composer Domenico Zipoli (1685–1726) of Rome, along with several other notables of Italian music history roughly contemporary with him: Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757), Domenico Alberti (1710–40), Domenico Paradies (1707–91), and Muzio Clementi (1752–1832). All of these were master performers and composers of keyboard music.[6] Burney's reference led to the question, What happened to Zipoli? Zipoli in fact, left his career as an organist and composer in early-eighteenth-century Rome to join the Society of Jesus in Spain in order to volunteer his services as a young novice to the far-flung missions of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay. Domenico Zipoli is a key figure in the appropriation of mission music as a new musical genre, not only because he is first singled out by Burney, but also because of the publication and dissemination of his *Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cembalo,* published at Rome in 1716, and more especially at London by John Walsh in successive editions from 1725 through 1755. The question of Zipoli's whereabouts remained unanswered until the twentieth century.

Renewed interest in Domenico Zipoli began in 1942 with the publication of the Argentine Jesuit historian Guillermo Furlong Cardiff's "Siete grandes maestros de la música colonial Rioplatense."[7] A long succession of articles first trickled, then flowed with greater regularity throughout the 1980s and '90s, but especially after the discovery of some of Zipoli's Latin American oeuvres in the archive that contains music of the Chiquitos and Moxos in present-day Bolivia. In addition to manuscript copies of Zipoli's *Sonate d'intavolatura* from Europe,

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[6]Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, 1789* (New York: Dover reprint, 1957), II:424.

[7]Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, "Siete grandes maestros de la música colonial rioplatense," in *Boletin de la Academia Nacional de la Historia (Argentina)* 16 (1942): 59–76.

Masses, motets, vespers, psalms, and music for the stage have been discovered among these archives. While the 1987 discovery and publication of the first piece of musicological research concerning Zipoli's "new world" music has given an impetus to study further this archive, and indeed other archives also associated with non-cathedral traditions throughout Latin America, this first title, "Colonial Music from the Episcopal Archive of Concepción, Bolivia, proved to be a misnomer.[8] While the archive belongs to what is now the cathedral church of the Roman Catholic bishop of Nuflo de Chavez, in colonial times this church was only one of a number of Jesuit mission churches for the Chiquito Indians.

Intense musicological research and reflection has taken place since 1988. With the recovery, performance, and study of this music from Bolivia, anthropological and ethnomusicological perspectives have brought to light more cultural and musical facets than anyone thought possible eighteen years ago. New insights and new questions appropriate to our postmodern situation have surfaced. Recent studies, conferences, and festivals of this music have brought together scholars from all over Latin America and beyond, but the impetus has come from a cadre of young scholars who have begun with studies of the mission music from Chiquitos. They also have been successful in widening their circle to stimulate research in mission music all over South, Central, and even North America. Some of the important musical and cultural questions that have been posed in this research have now encouraged scholars all over Latin America not only to discover and examine the available music associated with the mission towns, but to do this within what might be called a context of juxtapositions. Some of these juxtapositions—e.g., Westerner/Other, musicology/ethnomusicology, oral tradition/written tradition, indigenous music/European music, and especially issues around the use of power in the context of colony/mission—at last have begun to address the real complexities of the historical realities.

There was no hesitation in rearranging music for the missions depending on the available instruments and singers.

[8] By T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., *Latin American Music Review* 9, no. 1 (1988): 1–17.

II. Cathedral Music and Mission Music

We moved toward this distinction between cathedral and mission music in 1987 with the discovery of the music of the Chiquitos archive. In that archive was noted the presence of a significant amount of instrumental music as well as choral music. No cathedral collection in Latin America contained any significant amount of purely instrumental music. The fact leads us to ask why. Not only was Domenico Zipoli's keyboard music represented in this collection, but other notable European Baroque composers as well; for example, *Sonate* by Arcangelo Corelli and Nicola Jomelli, along with a number of anonymous works written in the reductions. If we can begin to speak of Jesuit spirituality as a civic and culturally aware spirituality, as John O'Malley has suggested, perhaps we can begin to see that the institution of music within Jesuit apostolates, most clearly evident in the missions, played a role in this creation of culture. A decidedly this-world approach to spirituality, rooted in the *studia humanitatis* of the classical texts that Jesuits brought and used around the world, fostered the creation of community centered on the common good in Jesuit works that went far beyond the idea of the Church as refuge or as the only place where we meet God.

Almost from the beginning of the mission, there were musicians who came to Latin America. It was Manuel de Nóbrega, sent to Brazil by St. Ignatius in 1549, who made the famous quotation, slightly modified by Hollywood in Roland Joffé's 1986 film *The Mission,* "Give me an orchestra of musicians and I will convert all the Indians for Christ."[9] Virtually all of the scores associated with the music we are discussing today, originally five thousand pages or so, were found in a remote corner of northern Bolivia in the episcopal archive of Concepción, Chiquitos. Their discovery in 1987 has led to a virtual revolution in musical research in Latin America. As the years have gone by, an interest has increased among the musicological community, and another five thousand pages have been added to this repertory, mostly donated to the collection by indigenous peoples who over generations have preserved these musical scores within their own families. It's important to realize where this music was found—in one of the most remote areas, and in churches that were among the more recently

[9] According to Juan Pedro Maffeo, S. J., *Historia Indicarum . . .*, 16 vols. (Lyons, ex officina iunctarum, 1589), but cited in José Manuel Peramás, S.J., *De vita et moribus tredecim virorum Paraguaycorum* (Faenza, 1793), 430, n. 2. This also is cited in Guillermo Furlong, S.J., *Musicos argentinos durante la dominacion hispanica* (Buenos Aires, 1945), n. 53.

founded communities of those *reducciones*. The remoteness and less harsh conditions of humidity among the Chiquitos probably helped in its preservation.

The Contribution of Domenico Zipoli

Domenico Zipoli (1688–1726) is the most famous among the Jesuit musicians of the famous Paraguay Province. In the extant music of these missions, his works represent, on the one hand, pieces that are utterly contemporary in the style of the mature Italian Baroque but, on the other hand, tailored to the needs and realities of the more than thirty mission towns of the province. Zipoli was born in Prato near Florence, was organist at the Church of the Gesù in Rome, as well as at other Roman Jesuit institutions, before entering the Society in Seville on July 1716, at the age of twenty-eight. Zipoli left Cadiz for the Rió de la Plata basin April 1, 1717, not even a full year after entering the Society. Zipoli continued his course of studies in Córdoba, Argentina, completing them in 1725. He died most probably there in Códoba of tuberculosis on January 2, 1726, while waiting for a bishop to ordain him. It does not seem likely, however, that Zipoli would ever have been sent to the reduction towns. In 1724, in a second set of *informationes* after he had completed theological studies, his talent for ministry among the Indians had slipped from having an aptitude for work either with the Spanish or the Indians from the earlier years, to simply a rating of mediocre for mission work. All the other areas were fine; it may well have been that superiors were jealously guarding his presence at Córdoba in the collegiate church. Córdoba was the seat of the province, a colonial city with a very active liturgical life. He was the perfect man to run that program, or it may simply have been his age that kept him from being sent to one of the townships. It is a moot point in any event, since Zipoli's early death from tuberculosis left the province center as well as the townships without his talent. The inspiration, however, remained.

Liturgical Settings

The presence of volunteers from all over the global community of the Jesuit Order in the Paraguay Province no doubt challenged the Jesuits to search among themselves for a unity in diversity. Their own diversity coupled with the new world of the indigenous one posed a dynamic interchange that sought unity. The Jesuits paid a great deal of attention to the talents and possibilities that lay within the Indian communities. This sensitivity led to a tailoring within the musical form that expanded and exploited the technical parameters of the music whenever possible, but at the same time respected the necessary inclusivity that the sense of the sacred texts implied. For example, the identifiable works

of Domenico Zipoli among the Concepción manuscripts are, on the one hand, mature works in the Italian Baroque *concertato* style, and at the same time carefully crafted according to the needs and realities of the mission towns and the possibility of their performing such works there. In the Vesper Psalm 111 (112), "Beatus Vir ," an opening ritornello of orchestra followed by chorus and soloist provides a highly sophisticated affective musical form situated within a common Baroque procedure.

Concertato style in the High Baroque refers to a formal style of soloists, chorus, and instruments playing together; ritornello is a device in Baroque music that indicates a return of original musical material, however it may be reworked in the return, that implies alternation between one group of musicians and another, or one group and the whole group. Evidence that points toward a mission style here is the solo writing in comparison with the choral writing. The chorus performs simple homophonic texture while providing accompaniment for an incredibly virtuosic soprano solo. The choral setting though simple, or at least much less virtuosic than the soprano, nevertheless performs in a fashion that elegantly accompanies and comments on the text, not unlike an ancient Greek chorus of classical antiquity. Some general but not unimportant elements of mission style, then, appear to be a willingness to bring the most current, not to say fashionable, style possibilities of Europe to the forefront in the missions in a manner that creatively incorporates the exigencies as well as the vicissitudes of the situation at hand. The context of the music looms large, so much so that a sense of reconciliation of diverse and at times seemingly contradictory elements is achieved.[10]

In the hands of the indigenous communities, rewriting, recomposing, and rearranging also exemplified the revelation of an identity for these peoples that they have not lost.

The choral parts are much less virtuosic than the solo, but nevertheless express in a beautiful homophonic (simple chordal) texture a commentary on the opening words of the text. This type of writing by Zipoli is clearly moving towards what we have come to call mission style. Given the exigencies of most of the townships, it is probable that

[10]T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., "Candide and a Boat," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. O'Malley, Bailey, Harris, Kennedy (Toronto), 199, 317–22.

the choral sections could not always, maybe not even usually, be virtuosic. While the choral parts cleverly reinforce the text and accompany the soloist, at times not unlike the instruments, no matter how simple the musical texture for the chorus may be, at the same time, it is evident that there were extraordinary indigenous soloists able to sing and play these truly difficult pieces. Another element that sets these pieces by Zipoli apart from other similar sacred pieces is the religious intensity that Zipoli applies to the normal Baroque word painting. In Psalm 111, "Beatus Vir," he begins with a long ascending *melisma* (many notes sung on one syllable of a word) on the words "take delight" *(volet)*. One can note the dark color and repeated pleas for mercy on the very words of mercy—*misericors, misereatur*—while the word *justus* is sung only once. The justice of God is presumed, but the mercy of God is repeatedly emphasized. Is there something about the human condition here, that we are certainly ready to believe that our God is just, but not always so sure he will be merciful?

Theater and Opera

But this is, of course, liturgical music; Psalm 111 is one of the traditional vesper psalms. What about a broader musical vision? Let's consider one of the chamber operas from the New World, a small work from the Paraguay Missions entitled *San Ignacio, written* by Zipoli and a later Jesuit contemporary, Martin Schmid.

San Ignacio is a small chamber opera from those last years of the Paraguay Province, and became, for the twenty years or so before the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, a piece that captured the hearts of the Chiquitos in such a profound way that, long after the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish dominions, this work continued to be performed by the indigenous peoples. The earliest manuscript tradition of this small opera dates from 1755 in the township of Santa Ana in Chiquitos. But this is without doubt an inherited tradition that certainly began much earlier in the Guaraní townships. It is confirmed by the fact that fragments of the score existed in three of the Chiquito missions, one from Moxos, as well as written references to the work in the Guaraní townships. The work was used over and over for various festivities: especially St. Ignatius Day and the visitation days of the provincial superiors.[11] The opera consists of

[11]I am grateful to my colleague Bernardo Illari of the University of Texas at Denton, who has prepared the score of *San Ignacio,* offered his insights, and collaborated with me on several productions of this magnificent little work.

two short acts, *The Messenger* and *The Farewell.* Act I represents the conversion and call of Ignatius and his beginning to learn how to discern the will of God. Act II represents Ignatius's response to God's call, his friendship with Francis Xavier, and his sending of Xavier on mission to the East to preach and baptize.

Like most operas, it is about love. God as love sets Ignatius in motion, and the love of Christ that Loyola and Xavier share impels Francis to new worlds to share that good news. In act II, the only duet in the work is a love duet, or at least would be a love duet if it occurred in secular opera, but its context is changed with Ignatius and Xavier sharing the mission of love. Love is the force that is in all things. It represents the aims, the means, and the music of the Jesuits in South America. *San Ignacio* stands in the middle of several different cultures, creating a space for the confluence of differences and the understanding of peoples. Remember that the Indians heard the story of Ignatius sending Xavier to the missions from their own township perspectives. They too were called to mission.

III. From Europe to the New World

Another musical example from the missions I would like to include is a "Regina Cœli," a Marian antiphon written by the French composer Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704), who spent ten years of his life (from the mid-1680s to the 1690s) working for the Jesuits at the Collège de St. Louis-le-Grande in Paris. The interesting thing about this piece, though, is that it survives in two manuscripts, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the other, an autograph copy, in a collection of music that belonged to the Jesuit College in Quebec, Canada. The church and college in Quebec served not only French families but Abenaki Indians as well. It is disarmingly beautiful. Can we call this mission style? Perhaps not in the same sense as the Zipoli pieces, as the circumstances of place and available performance forces differed greatly from a French college in Quebec and an indigenous township in Paraguay. The autograph manuscript also reveals another hand besides Charpentier's. The unknown hand writes, "He is the music master at our college in Paris." I can imagine some contemporary Jesuit in Paris deciding that this would be a good piece to send to Quebec, with or without Maestro Charpentier's permission!

In general it was the mission procurator who received the requests for more European music manuscripts from the Jesuits in the field, although sometimes Jesuits wrote directly to friends appealing for help. Sometimes the musical trade route is more mysterious. In light of this gradual creation of an

authentic local musical tradition in the *reducciones*, including elements of development, assimilation, and adoption, the pieces that we know were brought in by the Jesuits from Europe in some sense are thrown into high relief as perhaps incorporating more curious elements. An anonymous psalm setting of the Vesper Psalm no. 112 (113), "Laudate pueri," also from the collection of manuscripts in the episcopal archive of Concepción, Chiquitos, is a particularly interesting, if not mysterious, example that can reveal to us this very intense life of exchange and creativity that occurred on a regular basis in the *reducciones*. This anonymous psalm setting among the Chiquitos manuscripts is in fact a copy of Psalm 112 as it was published in 1650 in Venice by Sister Chiara Margarita Cozzolani, O.S.B. (1602–77), of Santa Radegonda Monastery in Milan. Margarita Cozzolani was the youngest daughter of a wealthy merchant family. She entered the Benedictine monastery and professed final vows in 1620, taking the religious name Chiara (Clare). Documents from St[a] Radegonda mention her especially in connection with disputes with Archbishop Alfonso Litta in the mid-1660s over the regulation of music. She may well have served as *maestra di cappella* of one of the house's two choirs. Sister Clare was prioress in the 1660s and abbess from 1658 to 1659 and again in 1672 and 1673.

Psalm 112, "Laudate pueri," is one of the four usual psalms used in the traditional Benedictine Vesper service. This particular psalm by Margarita Cozzolani, *Psalmi a otto . . . motetti et dialoghi,* 2-8vv, bc, op. 3 (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1650), is a polychoral psalm setting that mixes full, two-choir writing for the antiphon in the *tutti*s (everyone performing) and frequent refrains, with the *concertato* solo and duet writing for the verses. This piece belongs to a group of psalms that are among the largest-scale and least-traditional settings of mid-seventeenth-century Milan. On listening to this psalm, one notices the way the opening phrase of the double chorus on the words "Laudate pueri, laudate," are repeated as a ritornello throughout. the piece.

The overall emphasis in the musical culture of this period was for a usage that supported a general catechesis of the faith rather than merely liturgical practice.

Interestingly enough, this psalm found its way to the missions of Paraguay and it exists in a manuscript (not printed) copy in Chiquitos that dates from the eighteenth century. While the style is purely mid-seventeenth-century Italian, the much later copy that exists in Chiquitos has been somewhat changed. The principal change lies in the fact that the *basso continuo* has been augmented by the addition of two violin parts, which is typical and totally con-

sistent with the repertory of Chiquitos, but not present in the original 1650 print. The term "basso continuo" refers to the compositional and performance practice style of music in the Baroque period (1600–1750). The *basso continuo* line is the bass line of the music over which are constructed the chords of the harmony that are usually played by the organ or harpsichord. Is the treatment of Cozzolani's Psalm 112 in this case embellishment or accommodation? Very often the pieces in Chiquitos and Moxos are rewritten for larger or smaller performance forces. This is particularly true of the masses of the Italian Baroque composer Giovanni Battista Bassani that are found in both archives. What is important here is that there was no hesitation in rearranging music for the missions depending on the available instruments and singers. Another interesting element that makes this psalm an appropriate one for the repertory in Chiquitos is the fact that, though presenting itself as a piece for double chorus, most of the works in the Chiquito archive are for three voices with *basso continuo,* not the more usual four voices. This psalm is for two choruses of four voices each, but the bass voice is really only a doubling of the continuo line, and as long as the piece was performed with continuo instruments, the bass vocal line could have easily been dispensed with. This, of course, makes it even more appropriate for the Chiquito repertory, because the indigenous voices both then and now are often lacking a true bass tessitura and timbre.

Crossing an Ocean

But how did this piece get to the missions of Paraguay? We know that in the *cartas anuales*Δ1 to Rome from the missions, often the Jesuits asked their colleagues at home to send the latest music that was available for the orchestras and choruses of the *reducciones.* This print from St[a] Radegonda's *maestra* may well have been one of the prints sent to Paraguay, where it then went through a process of being copied and sent around to the various mission towns. We don't know of a specific connection between the Society of Jesus and the nuns of St[a] Radegonda. It seems unlikely that there was a Jesuit chaplain there, as the natural, familial connection with Benedictines would have likely trumped any preference for a Jesuit chaplain. But it is not unreasonable to think that Jesuit confessors would have made regular but less permanent visitations to St[a] Radegonda. Connections through spiritual direction could have led some Jesuit director to a knowledge of these works by Sister Chiara Margarita. She certainly was a very well-known figure as a composer in her time.

We also know that from the beginning of the Paraguay Province in 1607 music was established by the first provincial, Father Diego de Torres del Bollo, S.J. Torres arrived in Peru in 1581 and was continually being named rector

throughout Peru until he went to Paraguay in 1607. Torres worked in Juli in Alto Peru, a Jesuit township well known for its dexterous singers and instrumentalists hired by the Society for its church there. In his 1610 instruction as provincial, he established that six to eight cantors be selected for each of the province churches. These singers would magnify the brilliance with which the feasts, masses, *Salves*, other Marian antiphons, and matins were to be celebrated. Since this musical tradition was established in Paraguay so immediately and strongly and continued until the expulsion of the Society, it is not a surprise that first-rate works like those of Cozzolani (1602-1677) found their way to the musicians of the *reducciones*.

Finally, this psalm setting by Cozzolani that has turned up so far from its source in northern Italy stands as another example of the flexibility and breadth of the Jesuit enterprise. It also directly attests to a living creativity that ensured that on a cultural level what happened in these townships was not ultimately imposed. The templates brought from the European, Western tradition were exactly what they were—templates. In the hands of the indigenous communities, rewriting, recomposing, and rearranging also exemplified the revelation of an identity for these peoples that they have not lost. "Nuestro modo de proceder," one of the favorite and common phrases of the Society of Jesus, is not a rule written out and followed in detail. It is, of course, the Jesuit way of discernment, but at the same time helps each person and community to discover the deep humanity and connectedness inherent in the Christian enterprise.

Music and Catechetics

Another important aspect of mission music that contributes to its development as a genre is the breadth of this musical literature in terms of its function. As noted, the music of the missions cannot be categorized within a narrow ritual or liturgical function. The oldest mission repertory yet discovered is associated with the earliest missions in Brazil, beginning in 1549. As early as January 1550, a Jesuit Father, João de Azpilcueta Navarro, was using native melodies with Portuguese and Tupí Christian texts in order to catechize the indigenous peoples, especially the youth. Unfortunately, the Jesuits were compelled after 1551 to de-emphasize the use of Indian melodies and instruments, and ultimately to abandon them. Bitter disputes among the Jesuits themselves about what they might or might not be communicating to the indigenous population by appropriating already existing tunes that used Indian texts that were not immediately translatable finally led to the Jesuits' opting for more caution in the use of indigenous tunes.

After 1553 European music was used to enhance the catechesis of the indigenous populations.[12] Henceforth appeared the tried and true practice of the *contrafactum*, the placing of new words to old music, but old music whose sources the Jesuits knew. Evidently, there were always some Indian youth who were trained to sing polyphony and play European instruments, but the overall emphasis in the musical culture of this period was for a usage that supported a general catechesis of the faith rather than merely liturgical practice. The great hero/founder of São Paulo, Father José de Anchieta, was a major figure in this effort from 1553 to 1597. It may have been that the limitations set on the Jesuit catechesis of the Indians after 1553 crippled the integrity of the mission enterprise among the native Brazilians. Or it may be partly the result of the economic focus of the Portuguese colonization. Or it may be partly the more limited vision imposed on the Jesuit missionaries. Any of these causes may account for the lack of spontaneity, and ultimately the less successful apostolate the Jesuits experienced in engaging the whole of the indigenous cultures in Brazil. There are many similarities between the Portuguese and Spanish missions, but the mood in the Brazilian encounter seems not to reflect the same sense of unity in diversity as in Paraguayan settlements.

The teaching of Christian doctrine as part of the Jesuit enterprise dates at least from Ignatius of Loyola's pilgrim years.

Nevertheless, the concept of the "sung catechism" is one of the oldest methods in the Society's long-standing tradition of catechizing and publishing catechisms. Part of the Society's success was in the method of borrowing and redefining in practical ways the apostolic initiatives from earlier traditions, particularly from the mendicant orders. The manner in which the *lauda* functioned in late Quattrocento Florence during the spiritual dictatorship of the Dominican Savonarola (1452–98) was a tradition that itself incorporated earlier Franciscan practices of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This ancient *lauda* tradition reappeared in a new way in the Jesuits' attempt to use music in the teaching of Christian doctrine. This continuity yet redefinition of earlier monophonic (chantlike) and polyphonic (several voices in harmony) *lauda* traditions assumed a life of its own throughout the early years of Jesuit history.

[12] For a complete discussion of the issues surrounding music used in Brazil in this earliest of missionary periods, see Paulo Castagna, "The Use of Music by the Jesuits in the Conversion of the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil," in O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures . . .* , 641–58

This growth continued throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially within the Marian Congregations, the academic defenses, and the school dramas of the Jesuit colleges throughout Europe and the mission lands as well.

Jesuit Catechisms

Recent scholarship on the musical tradition within the Society of Jesus has been handicapped by the dearth of musical scores. All along, scholars have been able to identify large numbers of texts that were set to music, including *carmina,* odes, choruses for the dramas, even complete dramas, as well as the *lauda* texts, or sacred texts used in the singing of Christian doctrine. It is only recently that more of the musical scores associated with various Jesuit apostolic endeavors have begun to emerge as objects of study. In fact, a large number of musical prints have now been identified as belonging to the Jesuit musical tradition, and many are particularly germane to the teaching of Christian doctrine. Included among the catechetical works are non-liturgical pieces belonging to a genre from the early-modern period referred to as the spiritual madrigal. These texts are usually in the vernacular, not in Latin.

The teaching of Christian doctrine as part of the Jesuit enterprise dates at least from Ignatius of Loyola's pilgrim years. Well before the official approval of the order, Ignatius was teaching catechism in Alcalá in 1526 and 1527, and the early Jesuits' concerns about this work are well documented by John O'Malley. Father Diego Ledesma's *Modo per insegnar* of 1573 is the first known work within a long line of Jesuit catechetical manuals extending into the eighteenth century.[13] This work also deals explicitly with the practices of intoning the catechism, as well as singing the spiritual *laude* that were used to plant and reinforce the elements of Christian doctrine in the ears and hearts of those to whom the Jesuits ministered. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the *laude* books of the Oratorian Fathers in Rome seem to have captured the attention of the Jesuits. Their interest resulted in the publication of works that not only were catechetical in nature but also constituted sacred poetic texts set to music. These manuals explained the musical possibilities of chanting the catechism; they also taught a simple, homophonic (chordal) singing of the *laude* employing one to four voices

Ledesma's work was obviously influenced by the 1563 publication of the *Il primo libro delle laudi* by the Italian composer Giovanni Animuccia (1520–71).

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[13] Giacomo Ledesma, *Modo per insegnar la Dottrina Cristiana[. . .]* (Rome: Eredi di A. Blado, 1573).

Ledesma's emphasis on simple chanting and equally simple harmonizations for the *lauda* texts may well have influenced Animuccia's return to a more simple style of singing in his *Terzo libro delle laudi* of 1577. Animuccia had published his second book of *laudi* in 1570, which he evidently intended for the use of professional musicians. In the dedication of the volume, Animuccia referred to the change in clientele at the oratory and relates how the oratory was filled with "prelates and the most important of gentlemen."[14] If the Oratorians in Rome were moving toward a more professional musical organization, as the *Second Book* of 1570 seems to indicate, why did they return to a simpler musical style in 1577? Possibly the influence and success of Jesuit catechetical work throughout Italy during this period prompted Animuccia's return to a more accessible style in the *Third Book* of 1577. Although Animuccia's *Third Book* is an important source for virtually all of the publications of *laude* and *madrigali spirituali* of either order throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not all the pieces in this book are by Animuccia. This may be a further result of the confluence and cross-influence of both orders' endeavors.

Ledesma's *Modo per insegnar* consists of a lengthy preface with thirty-three separate chapters that explain the approaches to the teaching of Christian doctrine. In addition to providing the apostolic reasons that justify the publication of this volume, Ledesma discusses musical method at great length, going far beyond his explanation of the usefulness of music as an apostolic tool. The first hint at music is in chapter 3, where he considers those who will benefit from the manual: groups of young people as well as the general population. Furthermore, he notes how they "will be reading, questioning, exhorting, repeating, singing, and [doing] other things in the manner that follows."[15] More than eight of the remaining chapters deal explicitly with the music and singing. Ledesma addresses the issue of borrowing tunes from a profane repertory and refashioning them with spiritual texts, as well as collecting sacred tunes. He delineates the areas where singing may be "useful and pleasant," including the various parts of the catechism, the prayers, the *laudi* and the other chant intonations. In all of this, he

[14] Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio* (University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 1:50.

[15] T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., "Some Unusual Genres of Sacred Music in the Early Modern Period: The Catechism as a Musical Event in the Later Renaissance—Jesuits and 'Our Way of Proceeding,'" in *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.*, edited by Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 266–79.

refers to music as the *pescatrice di anime,* the "fisher of souls," an epithet for music first used by Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratory.[16]

The style of the music is the subject of chapter 8. Ledesma describes how the song should proceed (simply and in a straightforward manner), and how it should be taught (with many repetitions for those who need it, using the brightest students to help with the repetitions for those who are not so bright). Ledesma also notes further on that the tune is as important as musical style; otherwise the doctrine can seem cold and uninviting. He ends the book with an offering of *versetti* to be sung while the children process through the streets, in order to attract even more people to learn the catechism. He also includes the rules on how to chant the common parts of the catechism, including the usual prayers (Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Gloria Patri, Credo, and the like) in a texture of one to four voices; included also are a number of useful songs and rhymes to be sung between the catechism exercises, emphasizing aspects of doctrine.

By the end of the sixteenth century the Jesuits were modifying those texts to aim at a more radical renewal by encouraging a direct and personal experience of the Christ of the Gospels.

Jesuits and Oratorians

Il Modo per insegnar was the first of a series of works that deserve further and more systematic research as well as bibliographical attention. Increasingly, as scholars have observed the serious commitment of the Jesuits to the teaching of Christian doctrine in these many volumes, they have also noted their pedagogical excellence, and consequently the significant success of these works as apostolic tools. In addition to the 1573 printing of *Modo per insegnar,* at least twelve more publications, and these only from the north of Italy, are connected with Jesuit catechetical practices during the years 1576–1661. Giovanni Ani

[16] Jesuit-founded Confraternities of Christian Doctrine after 1539 drew on the model established by Castellino da Castello, a diocesan priest of Como, in the Oratory of Sts. Philip and James in Milan. See Pietro Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia* (Rome: Civiltà Cattolica, 1950), 340–343. In several early prints of music for the Roman Oratory, the dedications to Neri refer to his own reference to *musica* as "pescatrice di anime." See F. Mompellio, "San Filippo Neri e la musica, 'pescatrice di anime,'" in *Chigiana* (Florence: Olschki, 1956), 12: NS2, 3–33.

muccia's *Third Book of Laude* of 1577, in its return to a simpler style, marks the beginning of a large series of works published throughout Italy, associated with both the Jesuits and the Oratorians, and specifically related to Oratorian and Jesuit spiritual practices. The Oratorians used the music for their group-prayer meetings, while the Jesuits employed many of the same *laudi* and *madrigali spirituali* to establish and reinforce within their apostolic endeavors the tenets of Christian doctrine and the catechism. In other words, the Jesuit books seem to be more immediately concerned with function and effect. Jesuits were not opposed to adding verses to the *laude* that were newly composed. Rather than being simply pious, they frequently revealed sentiments that were quite clearly triumphalistic or contained more of a Counter-Reform sentiment. The didactic nature of the Jesuit catechisms was more clearly focused than those of the Oratorians, and continued to be so at least well into the seventeenth century.

The image of the sophisticated Antonio Vieira preaching in the Jesuit Church (now the cathedral) in Salvador de Bahia, amidst the elegant art and musical traditions of the Jesuit college, speak volumes about the approach to mission using the fine arts in the Old Society, where literature, rhetoric, poetry, art, and music all communicate the same Gospel message.

If the influence of Philip Neri's Oratory in the 1550s and 1560s caused the Jesuits to begin the practice of singing spiritual madrigals or *laude* at the beginning of and in between the recitations of the catechism, then the final stage of this adaptation can be seen in the 1608 collection of *Lodi et canzonette spirituali* published by Tarquinio Longo in Naples, where either a part of the catechism (or the whole thing) could be sung as one long strophic *lauda*.[17] This vast collection of *laude* represents the ultimate conjoining of two separate musical traditions associated with the popular spiritual exercises of both religious orders. Certainly one of the largest collections of *laude* that were ever printed, it contains 329 texts, while there are 43 examples of texts and music printed as models for the various types of religious poetry that may be set to music. Twenty of these printed musical examples are scattered throughout the volume to demonstrate the various examples of text setting. In all, thirty-one types of text are offered with musical settings, though only twenty appear with printed notation.

[17] As is evident from the various bibliographic entries, the singular and plural forms *lauda, laude* also occur as *laude, laudi,* and, of course, *lode, lodi* as well.

All of the printed musical examples are in a simple style, but great attention is given to the metrical and rhythmic schemes of these various texts, all of which may have a simple, homophonic musical vesture. Great detail is provided in order to set as many different lengths of line to music as possible. A further twenty-three musical prints called *Arie antiche* are included at the end of the volume, and may be sung in harmony of up to three voices. The last three so-called *arie* are, in fact, settings of the *litaniæ,* two for the Litany of the Saints, and one for the Blessed Virgin. After the final section of the *Arie antiche* are listed thirteen tones to use for singing the prose doctrines of the catechism, including all the basic prayers. The impression one is left with is incredible attention to detail.

Conclusion: A Theological Perspective

It is fascinating to consider the Jesuit mission vis-à-vis the fine and performing arts from a theological perspective. The early generations of Jesuit theologians provided an underpinning for the arts that was first of all grounded in the experience of the Spiritual Exercises. The principal insight that God is at work in all things permeated the theological reflection of theologians like Juan Maldonado (1533–83), Luis de Molina (1535–1600), José de Acosta (1540–1600), Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), Francisco Suárez (1548–1617), and the Lisbon-born but Brazilian-educated António Vieira (1608–97). Common theological threads shared among these men helped to establish a mode of being as Jesuits that quite naturally flowed into every apostolic venture, as well as every corner of the Jesuit world. The early Jesuits looked more towards the Gospel rather than medieval theology for their apostolic inspiration; serious theological reflection stemming from that perspective, therefore, created an openness to creation where God was to be found working in all times, places, and events.

Perhaps the most disputed theological position of this early period that exemplifies the direction of the Society was the tension between the reality of God's omnipotence and human freedom. On this the Jesuits consistently came down on the side of human freedom, as exemplified in the *De auxiliis* debates, where Luis de Molina's works very much informed the discussion and, in fact, led to the development of probabilism. Probabilism held that it is permissible to follow a probable (or arguable) opinion, even though the more restrictive opposing view is more probable (or arguable). In the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century, casuistry, generally speaking, developed as a method of de-

fining moral theology. But it developed by contending that so long as a moral opinion is reasonable, one does not need to follow a more strict opinion. In short, Jesuit morality sought right action and the freedom of the conscience at the same time. This rootedness in the freedom of the human person allowed for that special development of the *studia humanitatis* in the Jesuit context.

If the early Jesuit theologians looked backward to apostolic times, as Ignatius did, to recover the sense of mission to which he and his band were called, the writings of men like Juan Maldonado in *Commentarii in quatuor Evangelistas* likewise gave precedence to Scripture and the Patristic tradition.[18] These more ancient apostolic sources allowed Maldonado to de-emphasize the questions of the medieval philosophers and theologians that for him manifested, in any case, quibbling language and arcane Latin. While Robert Bellarmine is sometimes remembered as a dour figure of the Counter-Reformation, there are other facets of the man as theologian that certainly encouraged and in a direct fashion supported the Society's use of music. Bellarmine himself had training in music, as is obvious in the autograph copy of his *Sermones* I, 494v.; here he quotes both the music and text of his own *lauda*, "Se questa valle di miserie piene." By examining the Bellarmine *laude,* one can uncover a process of free borrowing, with new music and new text added to older verses, a practice that not only aimed at reclaiming the ancient tradition of apostolic and patristic times but also moved the listener to a more active participation in a post-Tridentine spirit by focusing on themes of the birth, virtue, passion, and death of Christ. These catechetical texts by Bellarmine are in contrast to the Oratorian texts, which are much more frequently centered on the life of the Virgin Mary. In other words, while the Oratorians produced volumes of pious catechetical texts, by the end of the sixteenth century the Jesuits were modifying those texts to aim at a more radical renewal by encouraging a direct and personal experience of the Christ of the Gospels.

José de Acosta and Antonio Vieira are likewise interesting figures in the present context because both enjoyed international reputations as theologians, and both are principally associated with the Jesuit missions in Latin America of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In reading Acosta's famous *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590), we cannot help but note the detail with which Acosta

[18]Juan de Maldonado, *Commentarii in quatuor Evangelistas: Nunc primum in lucem editi, & in duos tomos* (Pont-à-Mousson: Stephani Mercatoris, 1596).

describes the ritual practices of the Indians.[19] He pays particular attention to the way the indigenous peoples use music in their ritual. Although it is difficult to get a sense from his writing of what the music actually sounded like, we might think it must have sounded very similar to Western sacred music used for ritual, since he effectively describes the music as a tool of the ritual, without noting anything unusual about it. Acosta so naturally sensed music as a vehicle for the divine that it was easy for him to understand the principles operating in the indigenous music of ritual. We are ultimately not surprised, then, that the first Jesuits in Brazil used Indian melodies with new added Christian texts as part of the earliest catechesis.[20] Reflecting on the power of music, we are also not surprised that there were fierce arguments among the Jesuits whether it was safe to adopt and adapt these Indian tunes. What meanings and emotions were the Jesuits tapping into by using these melodies? The method and use of music as a template for mission is what is extraordinary here. The adaptation of the template reveals the honing of the mission to the Christian message.

Though born in Portugal, Antonio Vieira was a person who lived in the New World and spoke to both the New and Old. Vieira was a missionary, orator, diplomat, and writer who had intense interests in claiming Indian rights and racial tolerance, as well as toleration for Jewish converts. His interest in the question of toleration of Jewish converts in the Church brought him in 1668 to Rome, where he succeeded in securing at least temporary toleration for the converted Jews. While in Rome, he became chaplain to Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–89), one of the most active musical patrons in Rome at the time. (Christina abdicated the Swedish throne in 1654 upon becoming a Catholic, moved to Rome, into apartments in the Vatican no less, and became a major influence in late-seventeenth-century Rome.) Vieira had the soul of an artist and the energy of a firebrand. The image of the sophisticated Antonio Vieira preaching in the Jesuit Church (now the cathedral) in Salvador de Bahia, amidst the elegant art and musical traditions of the Jesuit college, speak volumes about the approach to mission using the fine arts in the Old Society, where literature, rhetoric, poetry, art, and music all communicate the same Gospel message.

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[19] See José de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies,* ed. Jane E. Mangan (Duke University Press, 2002), 274, 302 f., 374 f.

[20] Castagna, "Use of Music," 643–45.

Appendix

Apart from the music for the catechism, the works I have discussed in this article are recorded and available. There are a couple of options for each of the particular works, except for the works by Chiara Margarita Cozzolani.

The Psalms

Les Chemins du Baroque -_Bolivie, K.617027. *Domenico Zipoli, Vepres De San Ignacio*, Ensemble Elyma, Gabriel Garrido, Director. This disc forms part of a series of recordings of music from the Jesuit Reductions of Chiquitos in Bolivia. It includes two of the psalms, 111 *Beatus Vir* and 112 *Laudate Pueri*, discussed above. The *Beatus Vir* is by Zipoli, and the *Laudate Pueri* is by Chiara Margarita Cozzolani in its eighteenth century, Chiquitos' version.

Channel Classics, CCS SA 22105. *Bolivian Baroque: Baroque Music from the Missions of Chiquitos and Moxos Indians*, Florilegium, Ashley Solomon, Director. This more recent recording includes a recording of Zipoli's *Beatus Vir*.

Musica Omnia mo0103, Chiara Margarita Cozzolani, *Vespro della Beata Vergine,* Magnificat, Warren Stewart, Director. This recording contains the *Laudate Pueri* in its original 1650 version, as it was published in Europe before being sent to the New World.

The Opera San Ignacio

Les Chemins du Baroque – Bolivie, K.617065. San Ignacio, *L'Opéra perdu des missions Jésuites de l'Amazonle*, Ensemble Elyma, Gabriel Garrido, Director.

Dorian Recordings, DOR-93243. *The Jesuit Operas: Operas by Kapsberger & Zipoli/Schmid/ Anonymous,* Ensemble Abendmusik, James David Christie, Director.

Regina Cæli

Cascavelle, VEL 1030. *Marc-Antoine Charpentier Vepres aux Jesuites*, Ensemble Vocal de Lausanne, Ensemble baroque L'Arpa Festante, Munich, Michel Corboz, Director. The *Regina Caeli* by Charpentier is set in this recording within a vesper service by the composer.

Angel Records (Veritas), B0000IG3G._*Charpentier: Grace et Grandeurs de la Vierge*, Les Demoiselles de Sant-Cyr, Emmanuel Mandarin, Director.

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